

Message Text

SECRET

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APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

S/S :JLHOGANSON

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TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 303539 TOSEC 250030

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, IS, IR, US

SUBJECT: DISCUSSION WITH SHAH RE ASAD VISIT

REF: STATE 303525

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

1. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO THE SHAH, IN ADDITION TO THOSE CONTAINED IN STATE 302978, ELABORATING ON THE RATIONALE OF OUR MIDDLE EAST STRATEGY GENERALLY AND THE STAKE THAT THE SYRIANS THEMSELVES HAVE IN THE SUCCESS OF THAT STRATEGY:

2. SECRETARY KISSINGER WISHES IN PARTICULAR TO EMPHASIZE TO THE SHAH, FOR HIS DISCUSSION WITH PRESIDENT ASAD ON THIS SUBJECT, THAT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SYRIA'S GOALS IN THE LAST ANALYSIS REQUIRES THE SUCCESS OF THE UNITED STATES' EFFORTS TOWARD AN ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT. THE SYRIANS WILL NOT GAIN ANY PRACTICAL RESULT FROM FORCING THE U.S.

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INTO ISOLATION AND LIMITING OR DESTROYING OUR CAPACITY TO

MAINTAIN THE ROLE THAT HAS BEEN SO IMPORTANT IN ACHIEVING THE PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN MADE SINCE 1973. TO THE CONTRARY, SYRIA HAS NO REAL CHOICE BUT TO WORK WITH US, AND OUR INABILITY TO MOVE FORWARD IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS WOULD FACE ASAD WITH THE FRUSTRATION OF HIS OWN HOPES FOR A SETTLEMENT.

3. THE SECRETARY'S STRATEGY HAS BEEN TO ACHIEVE VISIBLE MOVEMENT TOWARD A SETTLEMENT WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF STEADILY CHANGING ATTITUDES AND BUILDING A POLITICAL BASE, ABOVE ALL IN THE UNITED STATES BUT ALSO IN THE COUNTRIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED. THIS STRATEGY HAS BEGUN TO HAVE A FUNDAMENTAL IMPACT ON ATTITUDES IN THE UNITED STATES. IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE UNITED STATES TO BRING ITS FULL INFLUENCE TO BEAR FOR A SETTLEMENT. IT IS THEREFORE CRICALLY IMPORTANT TO KEEP BUILDING ON THE OPINION CHANGE THAT IS TAKING PLACE IN THE UNITED STATES. THE SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORTS TO CONTINUE TO BROADEN THAT BASE NOW RESTS VERY LARGELY IN ARAB HANDS. IF THE SYRIANS AND OTHER ARABS GO INTO SHARP OPPOSITION TO US, THEY WILL MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO DO SO, AND WILL INSTEAD BRING ABOUT AN EROSION IN THE BASE THAT HAS ALREADY BEEN CONSTRUCTED. THE SECRETARY FULLY UNDERSTANDS ASAD'S CONCERNS AND THE PROBLEMS HE FACES. HE HOPES ASAD, FOR HIS PART, WILL RECOGNIZE THAT IF WE FORCED THE PACE OF THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS, WE WOULD NOT FIND AS YET THE DOMESTIC SUPPORT IN THE U.S. THAT WE WOULD NEED.

4. THE SECRETARY IS CONFIDENT THE SHAH APPRECIATES THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS POINT, AND THAT HE ALSO RECOGNIZES THE GENUINENESS AND SINCERITY OF OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A JUST PEACE. WE ARE GIVING INTENSIVE THOUGHT AND ENDEAVOR TO FINDING WAYS OF MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD IN ORDER TO KEEP THE ISSUES ALIVE, IN A CONTEXT CONDUCIVE TO THE CONTINUED SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, UNTIL THE TIME IS RIPE FOR AN ALL-OUT EFFORT TOWARD FINAL PEACE. SECRETARY KISSINGER IS CONFIDENT THAT PEACE CAN BE ACHIEVED IF THE CONDITIONS CONTINUE TO EXIST FOR THE UNITED STATES TO PLAY ITS ROLE SUCCESSFULLY. ROBINSON

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